1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

consumption, all of which are stored in the capacious jars.'

At Sulemanieh, the Kûrdish capital, the better sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, standing on a basement about three feet high, and built of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth. Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *haremlik*, in the other. The gardens consist in great part of turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mulberry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its source in the mountains. The chief apartment is the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleeping room by the family. Only the poorest persons sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in *tchardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts, or in tents, to escape from the fleas, which are said to be even more formidable here than in the rest of Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in summer. The winter rooms are approached by a long, dark passage.

[1] Xenophon, in his 'Anabasis', or *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, mentions that the Kurdes kept their wine in unmarked skins, bk. iv. chap. ii.

consisting of a large steel grill and its usual few inmates, squatting against the walls, on display. The official day begins at about eight o'clock and continues without interruption until two or three o'clock, although it is often shortened during the hot summer months or the fasting of Ramadan. A number of officials may continue their work after a recess of one or two hours, but for most labor comes to a close in the early afternoon. During the time of business the courtyard is a scene of activity, filled with villagers and townspeople on various errands, policemen going to or from their duties, servants carrying tea or sherbet, and, of course, a scattering of loafers with no business at all.

To the left of the gateway and up a flight of mud-brick stairs may be found the office of the qaimmaqam. It is a typical example of an official's establishment of the Arab Middle East, and may be visited and its ritual repeated again and again. The far wall is decorated with a large framed photograph of the ruler and a map of the area. Beneath it stands the qaimmaqam's littered desk, flanked with an old-fashioned French cradle-phone. Both side walls are lined with upholstered chairs placed arm to arm. In one corner stands a bookcase enclosing a few pamphlets and, ready for testimony, the Quran in its green-and-white cloth envelope. Before the door a servant officiates, full of self importance and colorfully dressed in native garb. A name or card must be submitted to him, and he disappears

a formal situation, particularly when the person entering is a stranger and receives some scrutiny from those already seated, the visitor pauses momentarily in the doorway and murmurs, "the peace be upon you," as-Salaam alaykum, which is returned by a low chorus of "and upon you the peace," wa alaykum as-Salam. On taking a seat it is customary for the newcomer to turn to each of his several neighbors and to raise himself slightly in his place, touching his forehead with the right hand in a salute, saying, "the goodness of God," Ullah bikhayr, which is returned with a similar salute and the same words. The refreshments of a chaykhana are limited. Tea is served in small tulip-shaped glasses (istakan) on porcelain saucers with little brass spoons. A piece of coarse sugar is placed in the bottom of the glass before the liquid is decanted. Mastaw, curdled milk and water, is served in a large wooden bowl with a ladle. Some chaykhanas offer sherbets, a sweet syrup mixed with water in a tumbler. No coffee is sold in the chaykhana, nor are there any edibles, although youngsters often hawk bread or sweets. Entertainment consists only in conversation or tawli, backgammon, the board and pieces furnished by the management. The decorations may be a few framed photographs, usually of the ruler, some coloured illustrations torn from a Egyptian magazine, or metal plaques enamelled with a verse from the Quran. Some of these decorations seem to conceal curious histories. A chaykhana in Sulaymaniya, for example, displayed an old framed photograph of the Swedish royal family.

and another an old electric light bulb suspended from the ceiling by a string. 265 [353]

The maintenance of a <u>shaykhana</u> can be a fairly lucrative business, for it plays an important part in the social life of the lower classes. In the absence of any other entertainment, there is almost always a large number of persons in the <u>shaykhana</u>, merchants, workmen, soldiers and policemen off duty, and loafers. The <u>shaykhana</u>, however, is definitely limited to the lower orders of society. One of the higher ranking officials, for example, the <u>qaimaqam</u> or the judge, would never be seen in such a place, nor would the army officers. The dividing line is to be found in the teachers, who sometimes visit in pairs or groups, but prefer the town "club" because it has none of the stigma attached to the tea-shop. The landed aristocrats, the chieftains, are not bound by the scruples of official or officer, but tend to avoid the places. The reason is clear and explicit. A man of the higher echelons of society is expected to [574] maintain a <u>diwakhana</u> or guest-room in his home where he can entertain, and to be entertained in the houses of his friends, rather than purchase his refreshment in common with others. Similarly, a man of some standing in the community [558] who spends much of his time in <u>shaykhanas</u> will quickly acquire the reputation of a loafer. Finally, as enlisted men from [701] the army are to be found there on Fridays, there is talk [578] that these places harbor homosexuals (<u>hatiw baz</u>, "homo- [838] sexual," is a formidable term of abuse, an epithet which elicits knives.)

265 554 [517]

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door. 352 [415] [271]

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily rest in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest. 513 [351] 352 513 [854] 833 864

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first 353 574

floor, although that of Lali Khan is located in a second storey. This room, better decorated and maintained than others, is used for the entertainment of male visitors to the house and a rare family gathering. Its furniture may consist of benches and chairs, or, in the older style, covered mattresses on the floor on which the guests sit cross-legged. The floors are usually covered with carpets, the best the house can afford, and decorations may include a few photographs, and, in their season, bowls of flowers. A number of prized possessions, such as a set of glass tumblers or a clock are on display. Photographs, taken on special occasions over the years, are kept with great care and displayed to visitors with pride, particularly if the owner has been portrayed with one or more notables, officials or chieftains. Several families have old box cameras and some film is available with the general merchants, but developing and printing must be done in Erbil. In lieu of banquets, not regularly held, visitors are served a variety of things one after the other of which the staples are tea, coffee, or sherbet. That coffee is not served in the chaykhanas has been noticed, but it appears, as well as hot chocolate (prepared, however, in the same way as coffee, with water rather than milk), with some frequency in the guest-rooms. These refreshments are brought in rapid succession. In the diwankhana of Lali Khan tea, water, coffee, fresh grape juice, more tea, and sherbet, as well as apricots and mulberries, were served in a matter of about fifteen minutes.

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mulla or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, pointed niche, the mihrab, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mulla takes his place facing the mihrab or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mulla ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This main room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

346 [352] [353] [217] [718] [576] [291] [353] [793] [788]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

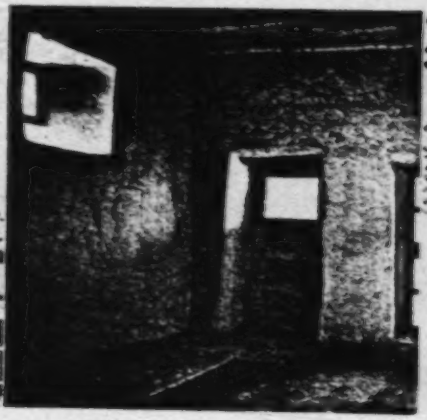

Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topzawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *lihdd*[22], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fārī*, (E. 2257)[23] imported from Iran or from areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *majma'a* or *sīnī*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *heywān* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bāwᵉzān*, 0,323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Balkha, Serkan and Sargalu, but not by any means in all. In Topzawa and Rakawa there were no schools. Sometimes there could be a Coran school in connexion with a mosque as, for example, at Sargalu, which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longrigg and Stoakes[74]. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out by Longrigg and Stoakes, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[75] in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Topzawa sheikh's 13 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unadaptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the house. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the wall niches, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in this dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, I faced examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk-school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[76]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The training here lasted two years if the girl was to teach at one of the few 6 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Goizha School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible to the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 16 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete her 3 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her protracter and ruler, lay in the wall niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines; she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried in vain to concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing or the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the house. With books and drawing instruments under her black *abd* she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to work in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with two uneducated women in the house, where all contact between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's urban milieu, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training as wives and mothers is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were teachers, as was the case at my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 14 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two uneducated wives at home. In addition there was the cleaning of grain and the baking of bread which in our culture is delegated to factories.

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an inhuman labour is